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PROXMIRE VS. THE LOBBY AND KENNEDY

Congress explosion over public power; major battle looms

By Lawrence Emery

THE FIGHT between public and private power has exploded again in Congress and the battles to come may be even rougher than those fought over the Hells Canyon and Dixon-Yates scandals of the Eisenhower Administration.

On two successive days this month the issue was blown wide open:

• On Aug. 8 the House for a second time rejected a proposal for a Federally owned power project in Hanford, Wash.

• On Aug. 9 the Senate confirmed President Kennedy's appointment of Lawrence J. O'Connor Jr. to the Federal Power Commission. The appointment was denounced by Sen. William E. Proxmire (D-Wis.) as a "shocking" move to give the oil and gas interests "their own boy on the Power Commission." Proxmire held the Senate floor for a record 25 hours and 42 minutes in an effort to alert the country to the hidden political power of the private oil, gas and power lobby.

The two events have brought threats of a Congressional investigation of the private power lobby and a moratorium on the use of government money in the construction of atomic power plants by private utilities. Most of these plants are heavily subsidized with Federal funds.

POWER BY-PRODUCT: The Hanford project involves a reactor to produce plutonium for weapons being built by the Atomic Energy Commission. A by-product of the reactor plant, due for completion next year, will be 11,000,000 pounds of steam an hour. It was proposed that this vast energy, instead of being wasted, be harnessed to generators that could produce 800,000 kilowatts, which would make it the world's biggest nuclear power plant. The electricity would be fed into the government-owned Bonneville Power Administration's network in the Pacific Northwest and would relieve a threatened power shortage in the region. The project would have added $95 million to a pending AEC authorization bill of $226 million for new construction.

At hearings before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy in May, Bonneville administrator Charles F. Luce listed the lasting benefits of the project and said: "It would be wasteful and extravagant to use this steam merely to warm up the Columbia River when, at a relatively low cost, it can be put to use to generate needed electrical energy."

The private utilities spokesman, Sherman R. Knapp, president of the Edison Electric Institute, the industry trade association, argued that using the steam "would establish a dangerous and unnecessary precedent." He said: "Hanford would represent the first large-scale Federal power plant outside the Tennessee Valley Authority, and almost surely would become the first link in a coast-to-coast Federal grid tying in all the regional power systems."

That joined the battle and the lobby

(Continued on Page 6)

HANG A SWASTIKA ON THE WALL AND THE WHOLE SHOOTING MATCH IS COMPLETE

In the Prussian tradition, West Germany's military leaders call on Chancellor Adenauer (it was his birthday) and give a forecast of things to come (see story below). From l. to r.: Defense Minister Strauss, the coming boy; NATO's Gens. Heusinger and Speidel; Lt. Gen. Kammhuber, and the Old Fox himself.

WEST GERMANYS' CURIOUS ELECTION CAMPAIGN

The next chancellor—the same or worse?

By Edith Anderson
Guardian staff correspondent

BERLIN

A VERY CURIOUS election campaign is going on in West Germany, which in September may determine the choice of either a new or a very old chancellor. The ruling party, the Christian Democratic Union led by Chancellor Adenauer, and the opposition Social Democrats are trying to outshout each other on identical platforms. The CDU seems to be ahead because the CDU said it first: More atomic weapons, NATO uber alles, Silesia for Silesians (i.e., the Germans, not the Poles who actually live in Silesia), and love to the death for West Berlin.

The Social Democrats' stated candidate is Mayor Willy Brandt of West Berlin, but the Christian Democrats have been too cagey to name theirs, and may not do so until after the election. The chancellor is not elected by direct vote, but by the deputies to the Bundestag. Conservatives who would accept the re-election of Adenauer, old as he is, are voicing fears that instead they will get the reckless and ambitious Defense Minister Franz Josef Strauss, who has rebuilt the Wehrmacht into an ominous force and has said explicitly that he is ready to chance nuclear war.

To Strauss, "the Prussian officer is the ideal type of German." He once boasted: "We are living in a technical age in which the combined strength of our allies is sufficient to wipe the Soviet Union off the map."

AMERICAN-STYLE: A couple of months ago Brandt made a campaign trip which was a caricature of the American style. It certainly was new to Germany. He beamed and waved from ferryboat landings, drank glasses of different white wines all over the Rhineland, turned the other cheek to Adenauer's spiteful remarks, and proclaimed that he was for fewer traffic accidents. Only one weird incident marred the fraternal relations between Brandt and the CDU at the start of the campaign: Several CDU leaders attacked him for having gone into exile in the Nazi years. Strauss fumed, "We must be permitted to ask Herr Brandt: What did you do during the 12 years outside Germany? We know what we did inside Germany."

As this challenge outraged influential citizens of the western allied countries, Adenauer smoothed it over at a press conference by stating that a man could not be condemned simply because some necessity had driven him into exile under the Nazis. This, the sole issue of the campaign up to date, was then buried quietly.

People who once inclined to favor Brandt because he had at least tried to avoid the Nazis could observe him ranting at a big revanchist rally in Hannover on June 10 along with Adenauer and Re-

(Continued on Page 4)

Belsky in the London Daily Herald

"I suppose it would be embarrassing to let the Americans know we can't afford it—so we sort of PRETEND we can afford to go to war over Berlin."

BERLIN!

The troubles—and the reason

See

Report to Readers

Page 2

British Guiana election is a key test for Cheddi Jagan

By Felix A. Cummings

BRITISH GUIANA'S 248,000 voters go to the polls Aug. 21, to elect a 35-seat Assembly, which will usher in the new internal self-governing constitution granted by the United Kingdom's government at a conference held in London in March 1960. The People's Progressive Party (PPP), now the majority party, will contest 29 seats. The second-ranking party, the People's National Congress (PNC), will contest all 35.

This sprawling, undeveloped British colony, on the northeastern coast of South America, held the world's spotlight in 1953, when the People's Progressive Party swept to victory on a wave of popular discontent over British rule of the colony for more than 130 years.

BOOKERS UNLTD. When Dr. Cheddi Jagan, the Prime Minister, tried to put into effect long-needed social reforms, he ran into stiff opposition from the local privileged group and from agents of monopoly absentee interests such as the vast Bookers Bros. complex.

The Bookers commercial empire in British Guiana includes Bookers Sugar Estates, Berbice Foundry Co., Davsons Caribbean Agencies, S. Davson & Co., Bookers Central Properties, Demerara Foundry Co., Bookers Stores, Bookers Amalgamated Groceries, Bookers Central Services, Bookers Rum Co., Albion Distilleries, Bookers Shipping (Demerara), B. G. Insurance Agencies, Industrial Holdings (B. G.), B. G. Lithographic Co., Bookers Manufacturing Drug Co., B. G. Balata, Garnett & Co. Petroleum Marketing Agencies, Bel Air Estates and a daily newspaper company, Guiana Graphic Ltd. The only business Bookers left to the Guianese is undertaking. Their

(Continued on Page 3)

THE MAIL BAG

The informers

ARVADA, COLO.

The U.S. State Dept. is sending "high-ranking government officials" across the country to "inform" local leaders of organizations of the reasons for its actions.

In reply to the question, "Why do we not recognize Communist China?" Walter P. McConaughy replied (in substance): "The Communist government does not represent the Chinese people. It is entirely alien to the true Chinese. It is not a peace-loving regime. The government at Taiwan is more representative of the Chinese people and traditions."

And to the question, "why did we turn down Castro when he asked us for a loan after the successful revolution?" Wymberly D. Coerr replied: "Castro never asked us for a loan. We offered him one but he refused it."

Henry R. Labouisse, replying to the question, "Did we get our money's worth for all those millions we have been pouring into South Korea?" said: "We should not regret what we have spent in South Korea. It is still free—it would have been in the Communist bloc except for our aid."

R. G. Lee

Taft-Hartley victims

NEW YORK, N.Y.

We are appealing to you and your readers to write to President Kennedy to free my husband and his co-defendants in the Cleveland Taft-Hartley case; and to send contributions to help defray the unjust fine of $2,500 for each of the seven defendants.

Contributions may be sent to P. O. Box 4496, Chicago 80, Ill. Checks or money orders made payable to Committee to Aid Victims of Taft-Hartley or to its chairman, Harry Canter.

Mrs. James West

The war scare

BRONX, N.Y.

Excerpt of a letter to President Kennedy:

Your call for intensified "civil defense drills" (so-called) betrays the fraud of the whole war alarm. There is no defense against hell-bomb. PEACE AND DISARMAMENT ARE THE ISSUES! There is no threat from abroad that justifies preparations for war.

War is the negation of all freedoms. We plain citizens demand that our Government take the lead in promoting peace. We demand that it take the lead in renouncing war as a national policy. **Charles J. Hendley**

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

WASHINGTON—The U.S. Chamber of Commerce opposes President Kennedy's plan of medical care for the aged. The chamber says it believes the bill would eventually lead to complete medical and health care for people of all ages.

—The Daily [University of Wisconsin] **Cardinal**, Madison, Wis.

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: J. B., Madison, Wis.

The Housing Act

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

On Ed Sears' article, "Kennedy Housing Act: Little aid to the poor" (July 7), I have a question about the approach.

I understand that the income group which is chiefly benefited by the new Act is a large one which cannot afford most of the new housing currently constructed, but by reason of income is not eligible for public housing. This "middle income" group suffers the hardship of high-cost, scarce, privately financed housing in precisely the same way it suffers the hardship imposed by high-cost private medical care, being ineligible, again by reason of income, for charity clinics.

Mr. Sears refers to the scarcity of $10,000 homes. My understanding is that the Act will stimulate the construction of more low-cost homes.

I do not disagree with any of Mr. Sears' statements, but rather question his emphasis on all of the negative aspects of the Act, and his failure to recognize the significance of the positive aspects.

Doris Brin Walker

Ed Sears comments:

The Administration's PR men have apparently convinced many people that the Act will help the "middle income" group. I have tried to show that this help is quite limited, especially on the 35-year, low-down-payment mortgages. I would not advise GUARDIAN readers to buy such homes.

There is nothing in the Act to stimulate construction of cheaper homes (though it provides funds for research along these lines). If anything, the Act will stimulate a great deal of speculative building which will raise the price of homes.

There are certain positive aspects of the bill, such as improved regulations for public housing tenants, funds for transportation planning, and the establishment of an open-space policy, which I did not mention. Another, which I did mention, was the provision of below-market-rate mortgages to cooperatives, which I think could be of benefit to some GUARDIAN readers. The number of such units will, however, be strictly limited, especially in comparison with needs.

I emphasized the negative because I felt this Act, though an improvement over those introduced by the Eisenhower Administration, fell far short of meeting either the goals of the New Frontier or the needs of the nation. In doing this, I expressed my disappointment with the Act's glaring inadequacies, a disappointment shared by many Kennedy supporters, including Leon Keyserling, chairman of President Truman's Council of Economic Advisers and a leader of the ADA. My analysis, in fact, was less negative than some of those made by these groups.

A Russian word

NEW YORK, N.Y.

A friend in Moscow writes me: "I talked to some American tourists visiting here, industrialists, capitalists. I told them of our steel production climbing steadily at the rate of 6 to 7 million tons annually. In 1965 we are likely to produce 100 million tons. This is no longer theory but hard fact. They seemed scared stiff. They couldn't digest that."

A. A. Heller

"Your economy size groceries won't fit into your economy size car."

Postscript to postscript

BEXLEYHEATH, KENT, ENG.

A regular reader of your newspaper, I was amazed to see attached to the Report to Readers (July 17) a postscript which contained several errors.

Ernest Bevin was never a Prime Minister of this country but was, (in the 1945-1951 Socialist Government) in common with Palmerston, a Foreign Secretary. Neither did he head the Labour Party, although he was for many years one of its most prominent members.

Sherlock Holmes wore a "deerstalker," a hat favored by the hunting and shooting classes, whilst Keir Hardie wore a cloth cap, a headgear of the working class. Its fame derives from the fact that he was the first M.P. to enter the House of Commons who did not wear the recognized dress, but wore this celebrated headpiece as a symbol of the ideals for which he was fighting.

Wishing you every success in your fight to abolish H.U.A.C. and the McCarran and Smith Acts, I remain.

Leslie A. Wiles

Doctors' fees

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The Doctor Business (a recent Prometheus publication) put MDs' fees in this country at $30 an hour, or 24 times the national average ($1.25 an hour). The **International Socialist Review**, Spring issue, notes that under the Nation Health Program in England, MDs net $7,275 a year, or about five times the national average ($1,560 a year). The latter figures disprove the AMA myth that socialized medicine does not financially compensate physicians for the lengthy training and social deprivations peculiar to their professions. It does, however, substitute a fair, proportionate income for cruel, extortionist fee-gouging completely devoid of social conscience. **Cynthia Speare**

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

DAVID SARNOFF, chairman of the Radio Corp. of America, said on returning from Europe last week that the Voice of America was losing the propaganda war. Rep. John T. Wood (R-Ida.) had an idea. He urged the Congress that Voice scripts be approved in advance by "a committee of members of the Daughters of the American Revolution."

In Munich, Germany, balloons were going up. Radio Free Europe, "private" supplement of the Voice run by the big-money Crusade for Freedom, one early dawn launched 2,000 of them containing 2,000,000 "messages of hope" to Czech "victims of tyranny" behind the "Iron Curtain." Victims were urged to listen to voices of freedom, including Radio Madrid.

Harold Stassen, chairman of Radio Free Europe's 1951 drive, commented: "The first thing to do is show them that we do care about them." Washington showed its concern by restoring high tariff duties on all trade with East Europe, in violation of trade agreements; by forbidding Czech national airline flights over West Germany; in a 231-1 Congress vote to end all commercial relations with Czechoslovakia until Associated Press correspondent Oatis, confessed U.S. spy, is released.

—From the National Guardian, August 22, 1951

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REPORT TO READERS

Berlin: Tale of a city

THE CLOSING OF THE BORDER between East and West Berlin once again has captured the headlines for this divided metropolis. In two halves of a city—110 miles within the borders of the German Democratic Republic (East Germany)—3 million persons live with two municipal administrations, two different currencies, two transportation systems and divided gas, electricity and water works. A West German newspaperman recently wrote: "Berlin has but one thing still in common—its sewage disposal system."

In 1947, a systematic and continuing plan of action was put in effect by the Western powers to shape the western half of Berlin into what the late Mayor of Berlin, Ernst Reuter, called "a front-line city." Willy Brandt, the dimpled darling of the Free World and the current Mayor of Berlin, calls his city a "disturber of the peace . . . the cheapest atomic bomb."

This is the unnatural atmosphere in which the Berliners live and work—many of them tense and bitter over the division which has broken up families, damaged careers and split loyalties.

THE NEWS ABOUT EAST BERLIN usually carries a West Berlin dateline. But from the GUARDIAN's Edith Anderson, living in the eastern sector, and from our London correspondent, Gordon Schaffer, visiting the GDR just before the new headlines, we got a picture of life on the "other side" of the Brandenburg Gate. Summed up, this is it:

After a slow start, the people of the GDR, with Berlin as its capital, have achieved economic security and benefits—free medical care, low utility rates, cheap transportation and rents—which are not available in the German Federal Republic (West Germany). But there are problems. Food is plentiful if not lavish in the GDR, but clothing and industrial goods are in short supply and more expensive than in the west. Luxuries are scarce, since they can be obtained only from countries demanding western currency. There is no unemployment, but neither are there the inflated salaries to be found in the west in certain jobs. All in all, it is a country pushing its planned economy toward full socialism, with the priorities and privations entailed, the resistance (especially among farmers to collectivization), the exhortations and the grinding of gears that accompany such changes.

On the other side of the Gate is West Berlin, the glittering showcase of the frontline, where are based 62 sabotage and espionage centers all bent on mischief in the surrounding East Germany beginning in East Berlin; where the black market will give four East marks for one West mark; where the shop windows display all the luxuries unavailable elsewhere in the east; where an engineer or a chemist will be offered a fabulous wage as a lure, and skilled workers get all kinds of inducements if they will leave their homes in the east; where the West Berlin government and the communications media, with limitless financial and economic assistance from Bonn and Washington, keep up a never-ending propaganda barrage to persuade the people of East Berlin and the GDR that they never had it so bad. And there are enough unregenerate Nazis in the East who require no persuading.

EXACERBATING THIS TENSE SITUATION is the furor over Moscow's insistence on a peace treaty with Germany—to avert the threat of a nuclear-armed (Bonn) Wehrmacht—and over a shift in controlling the access to West Berlin from the Soviet army to the GDR. Add to this brew the Bonn-created election hysteria against any East-West settlement and you begin to get an inkling of what may be behind the panic migrations from the GDR.

Admittedly the migrations have been playing havoc with the economy of the GDR and disrupting many services. The closing of the border was a logical step—however unpleasant its effects—to halt this disruption, and it is logical to expect that the restrictions will ease as soon as the tension lets up.

The best possible way to ease the tension is early and direct negotiations between the West (read: Washington) and the U.S.S.R. for a settlement of the absurd Berlin access "crisis" and for an acknowledgement of the existence of the GDR which, like China, remains a mythical nation in Western capitals.

The best advice we can offer now is for all to keep their shirts on and their mailmen busy—writing to the President (he asked for advice) and to their local newspapers, insisting that we stop the sabre-rattling and sit down and talk sense. And never to forget, as the Eichmann trial draws to a close, the horror of a Nazi Germany, and the potential horror of a nuclear-powered new army run by Hitler's old generals.

—THE GUARDIAN

NEW YORK SESSIONS SEPT. 23 AND 24

National assembly is called to fight the McCarran Act

A NATIONAL ASSEMBLY for Democratic Rights has been called for Sept. 23 and 24 in New York. Its purpose is to rally national opposition to the McCarran Act as expressed in the dissents of four Supreme Court justices to the 5-4 decision of June 5 finding the registration requirements of the Act constitutional.

With Dr. Linus Pauling among those issuing the call, the list of sponsors includes Dr. Willard Uphaus, Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith, Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, Vincent Hallinan, Warren K. Billings, Prof. G. Murray Branch, Stanley Moffat, John T. McTernan, Dr. Ralph Gundlach, Rockwell Kent, Dr. and Mrs. W.E.B. Du Bois, Arthur Upham Pope, Prof. Theodore Rosebury, Rev. Eliot White, Prof. Derk Bodde, Rev. Charles A. Hill, Mary Van Kleeck, Rev. Dr. Dryden Phelps, Robert Gwathmey, Rev. Henry Hitt Crane, Rev. William B. Spofford, Rev. Lee H. Ball, Rev. William Howard Melish, Bishop Edgar A. Love, Rev. Richard Morford, Rev. J. Pierce Newell, Rev. Edward L. Peet, Rev. Leland Foster Wood, Rev. Leroy Waterman, Rev. Clinton R. Bromley, Capt. Hugh Mulzac, James L. Brewer, Bertha Reynolds, Dr. Alice Hamilton, Harry Marinsky, Dr. Leo Mayer, Dr. Lewis A. Eldridge Jr., Prof. Harney K. McArthur, Ralph E. Powe, Elizabeth Frazier, John T. McManus, Prof. Edwin Berry Burgam, Dr. Joseph B. Furst, Edwin and Isobel Cerney, Helen H. MacMartin, John T. McNeill, Pauline Taylor, Jessie F. Binford, Dr. Sol Lunde, Walter M. Nelson, Carl Haessler, Max Dean, Mrs. Bertha Anderson, Emma Schmidt, Bertram F. Willcox, Berenice Noar, Simon Schachter, Samuel Kamen, William Harrison, Daniel Howard and George B. Murphy Jr.

BUILT-IN VERDICT: Describing the McCarran Act as carrying "a built-in verdict of guilt as international conspirators and foreign agents against all those Americans who register under it," the Assembly call urges concurrence with the court dissents by people's organizations and all others "concerned with the preservation of our democratic liberties." The call continues:

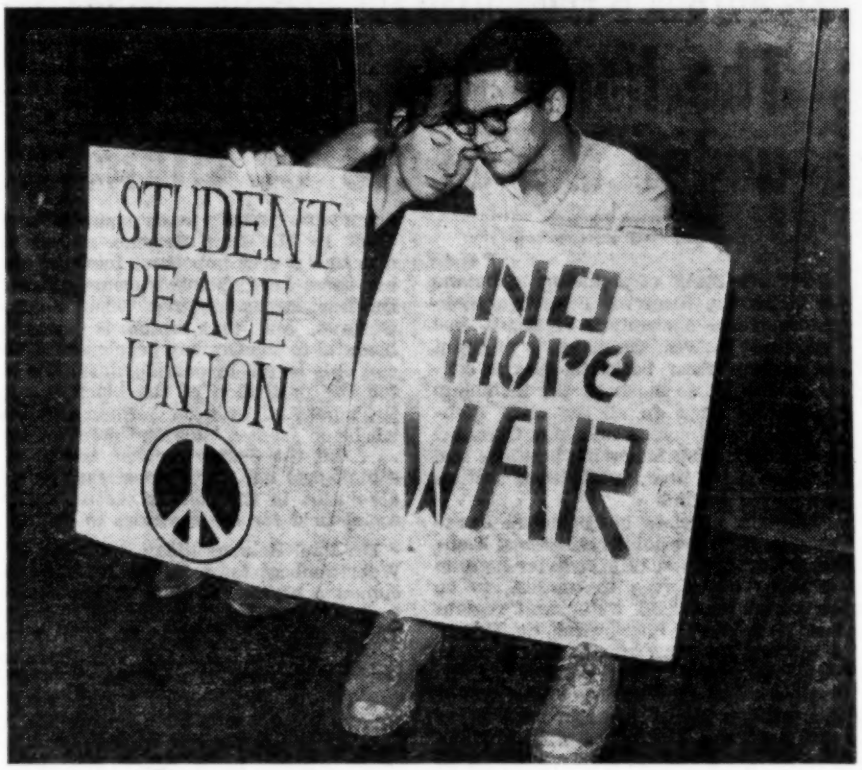
"By taking our stand with the Supreme Court minority we do not commit ourselves to the views of any organization or of any individual who is or may become a victim of the law. We join ourselves only in defending the freedom guaranteed by the Constitution. Defensive action of this kind is imperative not only for these individuals, but for all Americans."

OTHER DISSENTS: The call urges concurrence also with the dissents by the same minority to the June 5 decision of the Supreme Court upholding the membership clause of the 1940 Smith Act. Both questions have been before the court for years.

The two-day Assembly will be held at St. Nicholas Arena, 59 W. 66th St., New York City, where 6,000 gathered last spring, with a huge overflow, to protest the imprisonment of Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson for contempt of the House Un-American Activities Committee. A public rally will be held at the Arena Saturday evening, Sept. 23.

The Assembly will be preceded on Friday, Sept. 22, by a Carnegie Hall meeting staged by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee in support of victims of the Hollywood blacklist.

The Assembly office, at 118 E. 28th St., New York 16, needs volunteer help and funds to prepare for the Assembly and to mail its call and material to large lists of interested people and organizations. The office is near Lexington Ave. The phone number is LE 2-6288.



World asks peace on Hiroshima anniversary

WHEN THE PEOPLE OF HIROSHIMA gathered in the dawn Aug. 6 for a memorial service at the grassy mound of the survivors of the first atomic bomb explosion, their prayers for peace were echoed in many places around the world. Mike Tinker and Agnes Friesen (shown above as they prepared to spend the night in Times Square, New York) were among 40 demonstrators against war who gathered earlier at United Nations Plaza. Banners from a plane over Coney Island said: "No More Hiroshimas." In New York's squares—Bryant, Union, Washington—placards and speakers asked a ban on the bomb. At Yellow Springs, Ohio, 150 Antioch College students fasted for 24 hours and turned over the food money saved to a hospital in Hiroshima, to aid the still-suffering victims of the Aug. 6, 1945, explosion. Earlier, about 150 placard-carrying pickets circled the Federal building in Los Angeles, with detours around a Civil Defense shelter sign. The placards brought the peace fight up to date: "Negotiate Berlin," "We Oppose Resumption of Nuclear Testing." And in London, Bertrand Russell told a Trafalgar Square crowd: "A conference should be called to deal with the Berlin question with the absolute determination to reach agreement."

The GUARDIAN will carry a full report soon from its own correspondent in Japan of the seventh annual Conference Against A and H Bombs, which marked the Hiroshima anniversary.

British Guiana

(Continued from Page 1)

motto seem to be "Bury your own dead."

This giant monopoly, backed by the reactionary elements of the defeated United Democratic Party (now merged with L. F. S. Burnham's PNC), raised the charge of a "Communist plot" by Dr. Jagan's PPP to establish a "bridgehead in South America for Moscow." Thus the stage was set for the forcible overthrow of the government democratically elected by the Guianese people.

DEPOSED BY FORCE: On Oct. 9, 1953, after Dr. Jagan's government had been holding office 133 days, the British government, with the open approval of the U.S. government, invaded British Guiana with battle-ready troops, deposed its ministers, suspended the constitution and gave dictatorial powers to the colonial governor, Sir Alfred Savage.

For much of its history before the 1953 election, British Guiana had been in a state of economic stagnation, suffering the worst forms of exploitation. Land hunger was the basic issue among the peasantry and unemployed sugar workers.

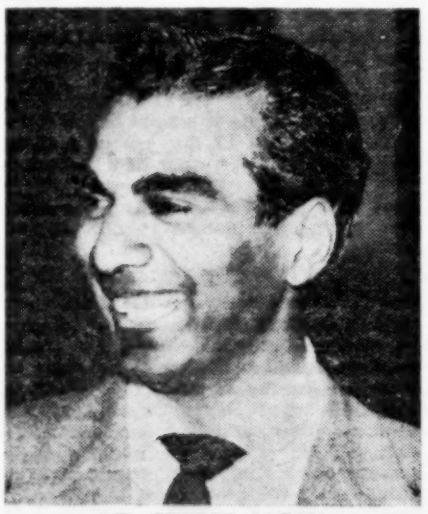
The New York **Times**, in a 1953 dispatch from Georgetown, the capital, said:

"The 83,000-square-mile colony . . . was obviously fertile ground for the Communists. It has the prerequisites: Poverty, racial antagonisms among its polyglot population, a soaring cost of living, widespread unemployment driving the already low wages even lower, low living standards and poor diet. The average worker in sugar fields and factory earned about $10 to $15 a week. There was antagonism over British controls and poor public relations between the Governor's colonial administration and the people."

After the Jagan PPP government was unseated in 1953, Daniel James, a New York **Post** correspondent in Georgetown, reported:

"The vast majority of Guianese suffer under a triple yoke: Economic exploitation, racial discrimination and colonial subjection. These three basic conditions are the source of PPP strength. They were not removed by Britain's suspension of the constitution.

"Most Guianese work long hours at arduous tasks for little compensation. Housing is abominable, education rudimentary, recreation makeshift. To speak of such things as hospitalization benefits is to indulge in fancy phrases. The colony's largest hospital is but a broken-down shack."



DR. CHEDDI JAGAN
He worried his opponents

1957 VICTORY: In place of the PPP government, the British put a hand-picked regime made up largely of political derelicts. Included were some monopoly agents. This motley government marked time until free elections in 1957.

In August, 1957, voting under a limited constitution, the Guianese gave the PPP a resounding victory again and Dr. Jagan was reinstalled as Prime Minister.

The PPP government since 1957 has a substantial record of achievement, despite the handicaps of operating under restriction. Dr. Jagan's government is in office, but not in power. Yet it has been able to tackle some vital problems with some success.

For example, the gross national product reached an all-time high of $240 million in 1960, an increase of 11% over 1959 and surpassing the previous peak production of $225 million in 1957, when PPP took office. Exports in 1960 totaled a record $120 million, a gain of 15% over the 1959 figures.

Gross capital investment in industry for the years 1958 to 1960 is estimated at $165 million. To boost industrial development, $33.5 million worth of machinery for private industry has been imported duty free under the Industry Aid and Encouragement Act. Since October, 1957, 96 companies have been registered with share capital of $16 million, and 28 companies have received five-year income tax holidays.

LAND PROGRAM: The Jagan Government has encouraged the co-operative movement within the land development program. Since 1957 about 90,000 acres have been given out to farmers. Of these, about 11,500 have been given to co-op land and producer societies, and 25,000 to settlers. Co-op societies are now the chief means of inexpensive land development. In 1960, the savings, shares and other deposits held by the co-op societies stood at $1.1 million, as compared with $664,000 in 1957.

In contesting for 29 of the 35 seats in the Aug. 21 election, Jagan's PPP conceded four seats in the Georgetown area and concentrated on scoring a sweep in rural Guiana to retain a majority of the National Assembly seats.

Dr. Jagan's confidence, and his foes' fears that it was justified, led to an extraordinary campaign outside Guiana to discredit his regime in advance. In the U.S. Congress Sen. Dodd (D-Conn.) and Rep. Rousselot (R-Calif.) joined the attack, carried on in the Scripps-Howard press by Lord Hamilton, a British noble living in U.S., and by a series of inflammatory articles in the Hearst papers. Rousselot, who has urged U.S. armed intervention in Cuba, called for the same in Guiana if the Jagan government were returned to office.

And in British Guiana itself, the Rev. Dr. Alan Knight, Archbishop of the West Indies, offered prayers on the eve of the election for the defeat of Jagan's PPP candidates. A 'Save Guiana Committee" raised funds for Peter D'Aguiar, slated to replace Dr. Jagan as prime minister if the PNC candidates won a majority of the Assembly seats. Dr. Aguiar interrupted his campaign for a trip to Miami where, according to the PPP official organ, **Thunder**, he was "very active."

Of fears of communism under continued Jagan government, the PPP notes that the Bookers complex, which has run Guiana's economic life since the British took over from the Dutch in 1814, recently put $4 million in new investments into the colony—hardly an indication of apprehension of its future under an expected return to power of Dr. Jagan's PPP.

AN AUTHOR IS PERSECUTED FOR EXPOSING EX-NAZIS

The honorable Eichmanns under the aegis of Bonn

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

IN THIS YEAR of abundant Eichmann literature, Siegfried Einstein's **Eichmann, Chief Accountant of Death,** just published in West Germany, is different from most other books in that it concentrates not so much on the Eichmann of the trial but on all the other Eichmanns living freely in Adenauer Germany today, occupying honorable positions and making a fat living while their victims rot under ground.

Einstein presents his principal hangman in some less publicized scenes: Eichmann in Lublin, in 1940, ordering a group of eight young men to undress, to be showered with cold water and remain naked in the winter wind until they ceased living. Eichmann in Budapest, in 1942, tearing a small child from his mother's arm and throwing him out of the window. Eichmann in Prague, in 1943, ordering a red-hot needle to be pushed into a 13-year-old's eye, and personally shooting a 7-month-old baby with his pistol.

But above all, the book seeks to show what has simply been carried over from Hitler to Adenauer Germany. For example, 80% of the high civil servants in Bonn's Foreign Ministry served under Hitler's Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop. Of 70 Bonn embassies and legations, more than 50 are headed by ex-Nazi diplomats.

GLOBKE'S ROLE: An entire chapter of the book is devoted to Dr. Hans Globke, Adenauer's Secretary of State, who not only wrote the legal comments to Hitler's Nuremberg racial laws but, according to documents recently made available to the West by the East German authorities, also had a very important hand in writing these laws. Globke's commentary on the Nazi law is edifying: "That which is German, and that which is useful or harmful to the German people and Reich, can only be felt by consanguines. The law for the protection of the blood sets up the separation between German and Jewish blood from a biological point of view . . . But the Jewish problem is not only a biological one. It was necessary to find a solution in the political, economic and social field for the centuries to come."

Dr. Paul Reimers today is a judge in a Wuerttemberg town. In the 1940s, he occupied a similar position in the sinister Berlin "Special Court" and the "People's Tribunal." At that time Judge Reimers signed warrants for 193 executions of German, French, Czech, Polish, Dutch and Danish anti-fascists. A suit brought against him recently for his responsibility in these judgments has been dropped because, among many other legal arguments, "it is generally admitted that emergency and war times call for the most severe reprisals," and because most of the victims had been "communists" anyway.

SLAVE LABOR: When Dr. Otto Ambros leaves his luxurious villa near Mannheim in the morning, he can look forward to a busy and profitable day as a member of the board of directors of half-a-dozen German and international chemical trusts. Just 16 years ago, he was before an Allied war crimes court as the chief organizer of an I. G. Farben buna plant at Auschwitz. Setting up the plant near the concentration camp was a fine opportunity because of the slave labor supplied by Auschwitz and, if necessary, by other camps. In a letter dated April 12, 1941, Ambros reported to the I. G. Farben home office in Ludwigshafen that the trust's "activity in the East" was off to a good start, thanks especially to "our new friendship with the SS." During a dinner given by the concentration camp directors, Dr. Ambros wrote, "we have made all the necessary provisions for the collaboration of the really excellent concentration camp organization with the buna works."

This is just a sampling of data in the Einstein book. The author is particularly qualified to report on Bonn Germany. Born in a small Wuerttemberg town in 1919, he emigrated to Switzerland in 1934, then decided in 1953 to return to Germany. He had meanwhile established himself with his short stories and poems, and as a contributor to Swiss, German and Austrian papers.

But the tale "A Jew Returns to Germany" turned quickly into a nightmare. In the small Hesse town of Lampertheim where he settled, Einstein found "Dirty Jew" smeared on his house walls in the morning, heard the words chanted beneath his windows at night. Then came anonymous phone calls and letters ("They forgot to put you into the gas chambers . . .!"); the warnings to Gentile friends ("If you keep on seeing the Jew, you are going to lose your customers . . ."). His lectures in the local evening school were suspended. Hardly anyone dared to shake hands with him. The campaign was led by local bigshots and notorious Nazis: Mayor Adam Guenderoth, Municipal Council Jakob Schmidt, Police Commissioner Wilhelm Hornfeck, and lawyer and State House Rep. Dr. Karl Keilmann.

HERO'S RETURN: In the fall of 1955, war criminal Wilhelm Rau, implicated in numerous atrocities in occupied Poland, condemned to death by the Soviet Union, later granted commutation to 25 years in prison and finally sent back to West Germany under a general agreement, returned as a hero to his native town of Lampertheim. Church bells rang, all flags were out, and local Nazis carried Rau in triumph on their shoulders. The "dirty Jew" Einstein soon after moved to nearby Mannheim.

DR. HANS GLOBKE
An expert on racist laws

He took some of the insults, threats and slanders to court, but ended up on the defendant's bench himself. War criminal Rau brought suit against him for having written a series of broadcasts on Rau's role in Nazi times. Rau, who had meanwhile become a high civil servant in the Hesse Justice Department, has friends in top places in Bonn. Perhaps this explains in part why, as the **Basler National-Zeitung** reported: "The Hesse State Department recently approached writer Einstein and asked him to drop the matter because it had created an unpleasant impression abroad." The important Swiss paper continued: "The question is how far political views and mentalities have already developed, and what bigger 'protections' stand behind it all."

The question is whether Lampertheim is an exception or a forewarning of things to come.

West German vote

(Continued from Page 1)

settlement Minister Schellhaus of Lower Saxony. Brandt marched at the head of the Silesian youth of West Berlin, and at a torchlight meeting roared at 200,000 people for the return of Silesia. (He said he wanted it returned "peacefully:")

BOOM FOR SS MEN: The position of the Social Democrats was illustrated last month when the party's delegation in the Bundestag supported a decree under which about 20,000 former SS men are to receive Bonn government posts corresponding with their "experience," or else big pensions. The decree refers to SS men who served under Hitler for at least 10 years. It will cost 600 million marks.

About six months ago it was still possible to believe Brandt might become chancellor. If the Social Democratic Party had not capitulated on the issue of atomic weapons, which it originally opposed, it could have won support of the masses of West German workers, as well as middle-class voters who are afraid of Strauss. Now it is clear that Brandt knows he will never be chancellor and will be content with any leavings the CDU cares to throw him after the election. Left-wing Social Democrats who oppose their party line too vocally are expelled, and there is no Communist Party—it was banned years ago.

ERHARD ROLE: The two other parties of any numerical significance, the Free Democrats (bourgeois) and the All-German (revanchist), could be influential only in a coalition, but none is required. Both of these parties support the Adenauer policies.

CDU voters who are afraid of an atomic debacle are hoping that Dr. Ludwig Erhard, Minister of the Economy, will be made chancellor instead of Strauss. This is a talked-of interim solution to soothe the fearful, but informed circles agree that it would not last long; Erhard would hand over power to Strauss. Adenauer quite frankly refers to himself and them as "the team."

A new party called the German Peace Union will, if it wins a place on the ballot, attract the votes of peace forces; but it has been violently witch-hunted.

The election in West Germany promises to be as farcical as the "Wintergreen for President" campaign in the musical, but not so funny. As the East German government wrote in a note to the United States on June 17, the recent meetings were "not only the work of a few crackpot revanchists, but expression of the fact that the West German government has raised revanchism to official state policy."

Drawing by Fred Wright

"Nice going fellows . . . have we any more emergencies planned?

The common missile

THE LARGEST CLASS of German students ever to attend the Southeastern Signal School was graduated last month following 18 weeks of study in the Missile Monitor Repair Course. Col. William A. Glass, assistant commandant of the school, presented diplomas to 27 graduates, telling them that: "We are joined in a common cause in defense of the free world."

—Fort Gordon (Ga.) **Rambler,** July 26

SOUTH CAROLINA AGREES

Integration pickets lose to Frankfurter Doctrine

Special to the Guardian

COLUMBIA, S.C.

THE SUPREME COURT of South Carolina has applied the Frankfurter Doctrine to a case involving four Negro youths convicted of picketing for integration. The four were ordered to pay $55 fines or serve 30 days in jail for parading (picketing) at Darlington, S.C., without a city permit.

The Negroes contended that the ordinance is unconstitutional because it deprives them of freedom of speech and assembly guaranteed by the First Amendment. They were carrying signs saying "Old Jim Crow Has to Go" and "Desegregation Is Democracy."

Sitting in Columbia, the State Supreme Court upheld their conviction on the ground that the exercise of constitutional rights must be consistent "with peace and good order." The court agreed that "these rights are fundamental" but said "they are not in their nature absolute."

The unanimous opinion was written by Justice G. Dewey Oxner of Greenville, who said: "Constitutional rights must be exercised in subordination to the general peace and good order . . . and are subject to reasonable regulation and limitations."

THE THEORY: This had a familiar ring to those who recalled the rulings of the Frankfurter majority in the U.S. Supreme Court in the cases of Lloyd Barenblatt, Dr. Willard Uphaus, Frank Wilkinson and Carl Braden. Five members of the court, headed by Justice Felix Frankfurter, upheld contempt of Congress convictions of these men on the ground that First Amendment rights of individuals must give way before what the justice called the national interest.

A minority of four on the U.S. Supreme Court, headed by Justice Hugo Black, has contended that First Amendment rights are absolute

KUMAR GOSHAL'S REPORT ON A NATION PLAGUED BY TENSION AND DIVISION

Nigeria has woes as the darling of the West

By Kumar Goshal
Guardian staff correspondent

LAOS, NIGERIA

NIGERIA is the darling of the Western powers. The West has been untiring in its promotion of the Nigerian government as a rival of the governments of the Casablanca group for guiding other Africans on their road to independence.

The May 8-12 Monrovia conference was convened in an attempt to dim the luster of the January Casablanca conference (Ghana, Guinea, Mali, the UAR, Morocco and the Algerian Provisional Government, which were not represented at Monrovia).

The Western powers pin their hopes on Nigeria on the grounds that (1) its population—36 million—is larger than that of any other African state; (2) it has enormous mineral riches, untapped except for oil, and (3) it is ready to make compromises, which means it is amenable to Western pressure.

CONTRADICTIONS: I found Nigeria, despite its large population and resources, full of conflicts and contradictions. It is far from a strong homogeneous unit which can successfully compete against the Casablanca group and on which the Western powers can rely with any confidence. Its Federal form of government has failed to harmonize the three regions; on the contrary, they are drifting farther apart in ideology and economic development. The member parties of its coalition government—Governor General Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe's National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, Premier Sir Ahmadu Bello's Northern People's Congress and Malam Amino Kano's Northern Elements Progressive Union—are showing signs of pulling part. Only the opposition Action Group party, headed by Chief Obafemi Awolowo, with its

base in the Western Region, shows any signs of progress and maturity. Dr. Chike Obi, a professed socialist and professor of mathematics at Ibadan's University College, has added to the confusion by organizing still another party, the Dynamic Party.

There are contradictions galore. The slums of Lagos, the seat of government, and of the adjacent mainland city of Yaba are far worse than anything I saw in Accra or Conakry. But there are plenty of tall, modern buildings towering above these slums and more are going up with lots of fanfare. While there remain the monumental tasks of planned economic development and of forging government unity, most ministers were out of the country on junkets. The Prime Minister was on his way to the U.S. and Azikiwe was on a slow boat to Britain to receive some badge of honor.

FIVE-YEAR- PLAN: But Minister of Economic Planning Jaja Wachuku (he was an honored guest at the GUARDIAN'S annual banquet last November) was home tackling the first tentative beginnings of a five-year plan. And the Nigerian Economic Mission, led by Federal Finance Minister Chief Festus Okotie-Eboh, has been exploring trade opportunities in both socialist and non-socialist countries.

THE FRIENDLINESS HAS POLITICAL OVERTONES
President Kennedy greets Nigeria's Prime Minister Balewa

In the early post-World War II years, much hope rested on Azikiwe and his NCNC. I met him several times in the U.S. and was impressed by his feeling for Nigerian unity and independence. His popularity at home was then unparalleled. He seemed aware of the need for a strong central government in independent Nigeria; without it, he knew, it would be impossible to dethrone the entrenched feudalism in the Northern Region.

Azikiwe apparently made two mistakes:

- Although the principles of his NCNC were national in scope, he failed properly to organize his party on a national basis, no doubt trusting his own popularity to help NCNC sweep the polls in the pre-independence elections.
- He swallowed the principle of federation which imperialist powers so assiduously try to sell as they prepare to make the gesture of departure from their colonies.

COALITION SETUP: In last year's elections, the NPC of the Northern Region (population 16 million) emerged as the largest party, although without an absolute majority. The NCNC formed a coalition government with the NPC and the small NEPU. Azikiwe had to accept the largely decorative post of Governor General. Conventionally, Bello, as head of the largest party, should have become the Federal prime minister; but he shrewdly preferred to remain the spiritual head and premier of the Northern Region government to keep close control of his domain, and sent his lieutenant, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, to be Federal premier. The Action Group of the less populous Western Region formed the parliamentary Opposition.

For a while it seemed that Azikiwe had made a cagey bargain, placing himself above party as Governor General and thereby keeping himself free to preach national unity and letting NCNC and the progressive NEPU try to win over some of the NPC members.

It has not worked out that way at all. The NCNC has remained moribund. Azikiwe has acquired an elaborate wardrobe and seems to delight in putting on a different uniform every time he appears at a public function. Some NEPU members of parliament, led by Malam Yushau Mohammed, have demanded that NEPU sever its alliance with NCNC unless NCNC severs its alliance with the NPC; they note with concern that the NPC has been jailing NEPU members in the Northern Region critical of NPC policies.

UNION RIVALRY: The regional governments, each with its own premier, have been acting more and more independently. Among them, Northern Region Premier Bello has been the most individualistic. He has been roving through the Moslem countries and making policy statements, not as the representative of a region but as though he were the spokesman for Nigeria as a whole.

Workers' unity is disrupted by the existence of two rival trade union federations: the Nigerian Trade Union Congress and the Trade Union Congress of Nigeria. Led by Michael Imoudu, the NTUC supports the Casablanca decision to establish the All-African Trade Union Federation; but the Federal government seems to be partial to the TUCN, which prefers affiliation with the Western-oriented International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

The demoralization that has set in is illustrated by the fact that the Nigerian **Sunday Times** of July 2 printed a three-quarter page paean of praise to the "young Katanga State" at a time when Africans throughout the continent were denouncing Moishe Tshombe for severing Katanga from the Congo. Although the blurb for Katanga was labeled "Advertiser's Announcement," to the **West African Pilot** (July 3) it meant that "Tshombe's agents have already arrived amidst us." The **Pilot** editorial added:

"The announcement was well paid for. But we think that the **Sunday Times** could have washed its hands of the 200 pounds—money dripping with the blood of Lumumba—which it got for promoting Tshombe's cause. The business of newspapers is not just money-making. We have other obligations."

SOME PROJECTS: Of course the country is not standing still. But up to now there has not been any over-all, nationwide planning; each region has been going its own way. Most ambitious is the Western Region's $450 million industrial development plan, which has already set in motion projects for the manufacture of tires, glass, and for establishment of a book and stationery printing firm.

Nigeria is rich enough in resources and populous enough to build modern heavy industry. Wachuku told me raw materials for an iron and steel industry are there, and natural gas has been found. I gathered from his talk that planning is still amorphous, and it was uncertain whether he would continue to head the planning ministry. He seemed to be toying with the idea of heading the Foreign Ministry instead.

Discontent is slowly rising; people are dimly becoming aware that unity within Nigeria and unity with Mali, Guinea, Ghana and other African lands would benefit the country. Action Group leader Awolowo's support for a union of African states—offered after a visit to Ghana—was received so well by the public that on June 28, in a press statement, he elaborated on it and presented a program.

Awolowo said the aims of "all sincere African nationalists" should be to win complete freedom for all African states rapidly; to avoid military and defense pacts and undue economic and technical dependence on any single alien country; to "promote and establish a community of interests among all the peoples of Africa," and to work "for a political union or confederacy among all African states."

NOT OPTIMISTIC: In my talks with political leaders, educators, students and businessmen, I found few who were optimistic about the immediate future. Most predicted increasing chaos and mounting protest, perhaps even violence in the next two or three years. All agreed that the feudal Northern Region, with its leader touring the Middle East preaching pan-Mohammedanism, is the greatest handicap to the country's progress.

Opinions differ on what might happen after this period of chaos. One group felt the turmoil would loosen the coalition government, bring together the progressive elements among the NCNC and NEPU, which would then join the Action Group. New alignments would result in the fall of the present coalition government, which still has four years to run. In the election following, the new progressive coalition around the Action Group would then win a majority and form a government.

The second group was not so sanguine. It felt that the NPC, facing loss of manpower, would not hesitate to launch a civil war.

Whatever happens, one thing is certain: The Western powers are deluding themselves if they think that Nigeria, with its government coalition infected with friction and its 36 million people divided into conflicting groups, can successfully compete with Mali, Guinea, Ghana for the allegiance of the Africans.

Crucial vote in British Guiana

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Public power battle

(Continued from Page 1)

went to work.

HOLIFIELD WARNING: The pressure came not only from private utilities but also from coal mining interests and the United Mine Workers. On July 13 the House rejected the proposal by an unrecorded vote of 176 to 140. On July 18 the Senate restored the project to the AEC bill by a vote of 54 to 36. The next move was up to the House in preparation for a joint conference to iron out the differences.

The day before the House was to act, Chet Holifield (D-Calif.), chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, said: "I warn the privately owned utilities to guard their luscious bone of captive customers, non-competitive franchises, guaranteed profits and rapid amortization." He said their "selfishness might start a train of events which could result in the loss of the luscious bone they now have."

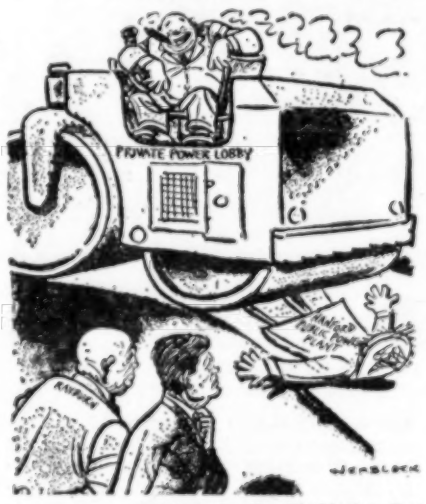
But on Aug. 8 the House again rejected the power plant proposal, by a vote of 235 to 164. Eighty-one Democrats joined 154 Republicans to defeat the measure; only nine Republicans voted with 155 Democrats in the minority. The majority was an odd coalition of Republicans, Southern Democrats, and Democrats from coal mining states and Northeastern states; the latter feared that more industry might be lured from their region by cheaper power in the West.

RARE DEVICE: The House employed a rarely used parliamentary device: It instructed its conferees not to accept a bill that contained the power project. In a similar case of House obduracy before the turn of the century, the Senate refused to meet with House conferees and eventually forced the House to change its stand. The Senate may try the same tactic this time.

The action brought threats from both Holifield and Sen. Clinton Anderson (D-N.M.) of an investigation of the private power industry and a moratorium on government subsidies. Anderson, a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, said the AEC might drop the present bill and replace it with a "bare bones" measure which would omit Federal aid to private atomic power projects, many of which are in the blueprint stage or beyond.

The defeat is a setback for the Kennedy Administration. Hanford was to have been its first big shot in reversing what it calls the "no-new-starts" policy of the Eisenhower Administration under which Federal development of water and power resources was all but halted.

So far the Administration has done little in this field. At a commemoration last May of the 100th anniversary of the birth of George W. Norris, early sponsor of the TVA, Clyde T. Ellis, general manager of the National Rural Electrical Cooperative Assn., said he finds "no evidence yet of the bold new forward thrust we were promised" by Kennedy.



Herblock in the Washington Post

"I turned on more steam than you did."

'STACKING DECK': Kennedy's nomination of O'Connor to the FPC and Proxmire's dramatic opposition to it was a self-imposed embarrassment to the Administration. Kennedy's promise to overhaul the regulatory agencies of the government wasn't matched by his choice of a Texas oil and gas man to help regulate the oil and gas industry. Proxmire, in his round-the-clock challenge, said that O'Connor's nomination "is stacking the deck, loading the dice against the householder whose gas bills are rising steadily year after year."

O'Connor, 46, says that his family has "been in the oil business as long as there's been an oil business." He has been vice president of the Independent Petroleum Assn., worked for the Golston Oil Corp. from 1945 to 1958, becoming its vice president and treasurer, was a private oil consultant for two years and, according to Proxmire, has owned stock in 29 oil and gas companies. For the last three years he has been administrator of the Interior Dept.'s oil import program.

Proxmire said that O'Connor's choice will "put a gas industry man on the inside of the authority set up to regulate the gas industry" and said: "It is about as fair as a fourth strike. It is about as ethical as brass knuckles." He warned that "housewives all over the country can expect their gas bills to go up."

RAYBURN BACKING: But the lobby was behind O'Connor and he had powerful friends in Congress, including Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn, also a Texan. On Aug. 9 the Senate confirmed his appointment 83 to 12. Eleven Democrats joined Proxmire in voting against him; 49 Democrats and 34 Republicans made up the majority.

Kennedy's choice for chairman of the FPC is Joseph C. Swidler, 54, a Nashville, Tenn., attorney and former chief counsel for the TVA. His appointment was confirmed by the Senate on June 15, but he won't assume the chairmanship until Sept. 1. The present chairman, Jerome K. Kuykendall, is an Eisenhower appointee and challenged Kennedy's authority to replace him. For a time his Republican Congressional supporters threatened court action, but he finally agreed to step down. He will remain a commission member until his term expires next June. He is an "industry man" and has weathered some heavy criticism for taking five junkets on planes provided by the natural gas industry.

Swidler's association with the TVA caused some qualms in Congress, but he has made it clear that he is no flaming proponent of public power. In 1958 he told the American Public Power Assn.:

"I am in favor of the present dual system of part public and part private ownership. This dual system is good for the private utilities, good for the public systems and, above all, good for the public."

At Senate hearings on his nomination he said he will urge public and private power interests to moderate their traditional fight and added that this conflict "is not our country's most serious problem." He expressed opposition to a nationwide system of public power and said he foresees no major change in the present balance between private and public ownership.

The Kennedy Administration will not provide what Clyde Ellis yearned for at the Norris centennial anniversary when he said:

"Some official spokesman must be the Moses who leads America into the promised land of giant power—a land where high-voltage transmission grids interconnect all major power sources, a land where we develop all our remaining hydro capacity, a land where we build steam plants larger and more efficient than any in existence in America today."

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IN MEMORIAM

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THE GALLERY

THE MEXICAN NEWSPAPER El Popular reported July 26 a plot to involve Cuba in a simulated invasion of Haiti by 2,000 mercenaries in uniforms similar to those of Cuba's Revolutionary Army, operating from Guantanamo Naval Base, the point on Cuba nearest the Haitian coast. Other groups of mercenaries would leave from bases in Guatemala and other Central American points. After the government of Haiti declared war against the presumed invader, other governments, including possibly the U.S. through the CIA, would join as allies of Haiti in a full-scale invasion of Cuba.

Our own intelligence service reports that Cuban renegade leaders Prio Socarras, Aurellano Sanchez and Juan Amidor Rodriguez, a Batista man, met recently with New York's Rep. Victor L. Anfuso, and, after consultation, agreed that the leadership would participate personally in further operations on Cuban soil, whether underground or by invasion. Sanchez drew an exemption; he is slated to be foreign minister in the exiles' government, and is supposed to be cementing foreign support . . . In Washington Aug. 10, former President Prio called formation of a government in exile the best

Franklin in the Toronto Star

way to carry on the fight against Cuba. "The important thing is to organize and carry the war to Cuba," he added (N.Y. Times). "Once we can promise Cubans within Cuba that we are ready to fight, you will see the unleashing of a tremendous attack, through sabotage, guerrilla tactics and other means, against the Communist regime in Cuba."

IN HIS SPEECH at the Inter-American conference on the "Alliance for Progress" at Punta del Este, Uruguay, Cuban Minister of Industry Guevara told of an attempt to assassinate Armed Forces Minister Raul Castro "by counterrevolutionaries armed at the Guantanamo naval base" on July 26. The plan was to ambush and shoot Raul Castro en route to the demonstration which he addressed that day in Santiago de Cuba, or if this failed, to blow up the platform from which he spoke. The second part of the plan, Guevara said, was for U.S. mortars to fire on the naval base from Cuban Territory" in simulated reprisal. The U.S. was to use the "attack" on Guantanamo as a pretext for "defending" itself against Cuba, Guevara said, but the plan was discovered and frustrated.

Our UN scuttlebutt service says that Adlai Stevenson in his Latin American tour complained that Mexico's President Mateos was soft on Cuba, and urged Peru, Paraguay and Colombia to take the lead against Cuba in hemispheric affairs . . . **Economic Reports** notes that Republic of Cuba 4½% bonds climbed from 33½ to over 60 just before the Cuban invasion, on tips that the Castro government was not long for this world. Now they are back at 33 . . . The **Eastern Feed Merchant** for July reports that Publicker Industries had to lay off 150 workers in its Philadelphia plant because the U.S. government frowned on their buying Cuban molasses.

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BOOKS

An Irish martyr's life

CONTRARY TO ONE American version of a popular Irish ballad, Kevin Barry was not hanged "early on a Sunday morning." British justice is Christian and civilized; it just wouldn't be cricket to "stretch" a bloke on the Lord's Day—even if the bloke happened to be a rebelly Irish dog. So young Barry was hanged on a Monday, the moon's day.

We are now reminded by C. Desmond Greaves, an Englishman and editor of the **Irish Democrat** (London), of still another instance of that "punctilious delicacy" which beatifies the acts of imperialist justice. In his biography of James Connolly, Ireland's great socialist martyr,* Greaves records how Connolly's British captors waited patiently until the badly wounded man had fought his way back through days of fever and pain into his first normal sleep. It was then his captors acted. "They awoke him from his sleep at midnight with the information that he was to be shot at dawn."

James Connolly had not yet turned 48 that May morning of 1916 when—propped on a chair because one leg had been shattered in the Easter Week fighting—he faced his executioners. We are told that he held his head high as he awaited the volley from the serried row of rifles. Even his enemies attest to his bravery. But we like to think that his proud bearing then was due to his conviction that the socialist cause for which he had labored so long and so passionately would triumph in the end.

CONNOLLY KNEW poverty as a relentless adversary in Edinburgh, the city where he was born to Irish parents. He was a worker at the age of 12, an Irish nationalist at 14, a socialist activist at 21. From then on until his death, he was a tireless and dedicated socialist worker.

He came to America in 1903 at the invitation of Daniel De Leon's Socialist Labor Party and stayed seven years. He had tired of the compromisers and half-measure men in the British Isles, and the ultra-leftism of De Leon at first appealed to him. Later he was to become a strong critic of De Leon's "sectish" tendencies. But Connolly's happiest years here were spent as an organizer for the I.W.W. It was during this period also that he completed his classic **Labor in Irish History.**

The year 1911 found Connolly back in Ireland as an organizer among the dock workers in Belfast. Then two years later came the Dublin lockout—one of the greatest labor struggles in Western European history. Connolly was summoned to Dublin to lead the fight with

Jim Larkin against the powerful combination of employers, church and state. At issue was the right of workers to join Larkin's catch-all organization, the Irish Transport and General Workers Union. For eight months the starving workers held out despite savage police repression. Then they drifted back to work. Reaction had won but its victory was a Pyrrhic one. The long struggle had bankrupted the weaker employers, and the big capitalists were too scared to enforce their no-union dictum.

When World War I broke out, Connolly not only denounced the conflict as an imperialist grab but called on the working class of Europe to refuse to fight. At the same time he decided that a blow for Irish independence should be struck. From that point on there was no turning back for Connolly on the road that led to a union with the revolutionary nationalists and Easter Week.

Connolly's involvement in the Easter Rising stunned the socialists of the world. They just couldn't understand it. In America, the De Leonites damned him as an apostate to nationalism. It was left to Lenin to set the record straight. Taking sharp issue with Karl Radek, who had dismissed the rebellion as a "putsch," Lenin declared: "Whoever expects a 'pure' social revolution will never live to see it. . . . The misfortune of the Irish was that they rose prematurely, when the European revolt of the proletariat has not yet matured."

CONNOLLY HAS BEEN the subject of half-a-dozen biographies to date, none of them definitive. Greaves has uncovered hitherto unknown facts about Connolly's early years and has laid to rest the legend that Connolly was born in Ireland. But the book's main weakness lies in the author's inability to be selective in the use of his material. We must also fault the publisher for some careless editing.

Greaves is at his best in the concluding chapters dealing with Connolly's emergence as a mature revolutionary. He also gives us a masterly appraisal of Connolly's life and struggles in an epilogue. No hero worshiper, Greaves warns all readers of Connolly's works not to take his writings as a Bible for quotation and exegesis. "To canonize is to kill," he cautions.

—Liam Lenihan

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JAMES CONNOLLY, by C. Desmond Greaves. Lawrence & Wishart. 347 pp. 35 shillings net.

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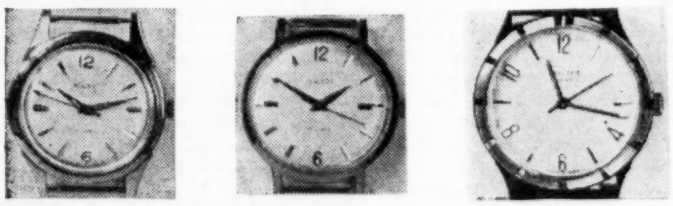

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

Cuba plugs a leak

HAVANA

IN AN ASTONISHING island-wide operation, all of Cuba's currency was withdrawn and exchanged for a new series of bills between Sunday morning (Aug. 6) and Monday night (Aug. 7). Cubans hailed the action as the biggest blow to the counterrevolutionaries since the defeat of the Playa Giron invaders. U.S. speculators and black marketeers, self-exiled Cuban crusaders against socialism and their CIA impresarios and paymasters of sabotage inside Cuba were left holding enormous sums of worthless pesos. The limit of exchangeable bills was set at $10,000 for each Cuban family, except for persons unable to work. Bank accounts were not affected.

Pecruz in Bohemia, Havana

Giving one day's notice of the operation, a government decree halted all currency movements in and out of Cuba until the end of the exchange. Airports and the "frontier" with the U.S. Guantanamo base were closed and, the Saturday of the announcement, ships piled up outside Havana harbor.

The total secrecy preserved until Saturday's papers headlined the decree and the smooth success of the operation were seen as proof of the government's massive support. By 24 hours before publication of the decree, 35,000 people in Cuba shared the secret. They were members of the Rebel Army and militia, revolutionary defense committees, Women's Federation, Young Rebels and National Bank agencies who received briefing in the operation of thousands of exchange stations. These stations, set up throughout Cuba, worked almost continuously for up to 48 hours. Queues began forming before dawn on Sunday and the stations stayed open until midnight.

A militiaman directing the queue outside one station—a veteran of the campaigns against counterrevolutionaries in the Escambray and the Cienaga de Zapata—said: "My job is at the Ministry of Education, but one way and another I haven't put in much time there lately. The way we arrange it, two colleagues cover my work, and I devote myself to militia duty."

MOST HABANEROS had to wait many hours in line, although militiamen distributed numbers along the queues so that people could go home, eat and rest, and then return. Good humor prevailed, and members of one trade union rushed out and posted around the exchange stations a wall cartoon showing Uncle Sam conked on the head by brickbats of the new currency. Loudspeaker cars cruised from one station to another, explaining the procedure and reasons for the operation, but the latter were already well understood. The withdrawal of old currency was not entirely unexpected.

The decree said it had become necessary to "prevent national monetary resources in possession of the counterrevolution from being used to conspire against the revolution and the people of Cuba." It was pointed out that the currency previously in circulation was printed in the U.S.A. and Britain. The decree provided for every Cuban family to receive a maximum of $200 in exchange for old currency, with a receipt for amounts in excess of that sum. New currency covering the outstanding amounts up to $10,000 was to be available in stages beginning Monday, Aug. 14.

NO DISORDER WAS REPORTED anywhere during the exchange period, but a few wealthy old women were reported to have made bonfires of their currency "so those communists can't get it." At one exchange station a series of persons turned up with exactly $200 to exchange, presumably in a "demonstration" of lack of confidence in the government's promise to exchange larger amounts a week later. Not a few residents of plush Havana districts brought in wads of bills totaling from $25,000 to $100,000; others were known to be keeping their old currency in the belief or hope that Castro would soon be overthrown and the money would regain its value. The largest amount brought in by one perosn—a foreigner—was $1,250,000. The size of many personal holdings in cash was partly explained by the fact that there have been two Cuban bank failures in recent years, before nationalization.

The new bills, which were printed in Czechoslovakia, bear portraits of Cuban revolutionary heroes—Marti, Maceo, Maximo Gomez, Calixto Garcia and Camilo Cienfuegos. The reverse sides show the Cuban fighters and masses in highlight scenes of the recent revolution, with Fidel Castro figuring in two of these—entering Havana with his soldiers after Batista's downfall, issuing the Declaration of Havana to the multitude in the Plaza Civica.

—Cedric Belfrage

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